The COMMONWEAL

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The Squeeze Begins

THE COMMONWEAL has continuously registered objection to two aspects of what might be called our national "policy." We have insisted that "unconditional surrender" is an insufficient immediate war aim, and we have likewise insisted that the refusal to discuss postwar territorial boundaries until the peace conference is unrealistic and likely to produce tragic results. Actually these two major aspects of our national policy represent our refusal, or our incapacity, to have a policy. A foreign policy simply cannot be built purely on principles. Certainly it should be conceived within a frame of reference of principles which conform to moral and natural law; it should likewise be conceived with a reasonable amount of respect for national self-interest. But principles alone do not constitute a policy. This can never be stated sufficiently often or with sufficient emphasis, since Americans tend to think that foreign policy *is* equivalent merely to clinging to a set of noble principles, nobly expressed, and Americans throughout their history have generally acted as though this were the case.

It is not the case. A foreign policy must deal with specifics: with reasonably quick decisions for concrete problems as they arise. It must be willing to assume commitments and to understand what it may cost to live up to those commitments. It must take into account social changes, and be pliable enough to adapt itself to specific new social conditions. In this (altogether proper) sense it must be "realistic." And by the same token it must be willing to accept a certain sacrifice of principle when the refusal to make such a sacrifice would lead to the violation of a superior principle. When a case is of such nature that there is substantial justice in the claims of both parties, a true foreign policy will not wash its hands like Pilate, because the matter is hard to adjudicate, but will accept that hardness and come to the best decision of which it is capable.

Now obviously "unconditional surrender" and the refusal to discuss boundary matters until the war is won are not realistic. They constitute a withdrawal, an unwillingness to tackle difficult questions, a putting off of the evil day. They are not a policy. And therefore they create a vacuum. Nature's abhorrence of a physical vacuum finds its counterpart in politics. Men do not tolerate a political vacuum. Hence having created a vacuum, it should not surprise us that others rush in to fill what we have left empty. The fault is ours, it is not theirs.

Thus the announcement that the Lublin Government has already undertaken to administer considerable areas of German territory—specifically, a portion of East Prussia, Pomerania and parts of Silesia—should cause us no surprise and certainly ought not to arouse our anger. Likewise General de Gaulle's pronouncement that France desires "the definite presence of a French force from one end of the Rhine to the other; the separation of the territories of the left bank of the river and of the Ruhr basin from what will be the German state or states" should cause neither surprise nor anger. He, also, is filling a vacuum of our own creation.

In the minds of the French and the Poles and the Russians and the Czechs and most of the rest of the people of Europe, Germany, "favored by errors and illusions," has for two generations, been "the cause of all our trials." The quoted language is de Gaulle's. Mr. Beirut, President of the Lublin Government, is quoted as using precisely similar language, and describing his own country, Czechoslovakia and Russia as "victims of German aggression." That is the simple fact. And it means that the primary quest of all our European allies will be a quest for security against Germany. Even if this involves Russia's playing a predominant political rôle on the Continent. Had we had a real foreign policy, had our Government been able to adopt a firm line—in the knowledge that the Senate would back it up—a different security system, involving only trifling territorial changes, might have been possible. But—to repeat—we had no policy. We left a vacuum. Nature, in the form of the Russian-

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backed Lublin Poles and General de Gaulle (that is all so far—there will be more later) rushed in to fill the vacuum we had left. If any of us feel inclined to be indignant over the outcome, let the indignant remember the part we played by our washing of our hands.

Mexico City

THE MEETING in Mexico City of representative of all the American Republics except Argentina is another specimen of vacuum. It is true that we had developed, prior to the break with Argentina, some sort of approximation to a beginning of a policy on this hemisphere. It was based upon two foundations. The first and older foundation was the Pan American Union. This juridical machine had the great virtue of protecting the national self-respect of its lesser members by its insistence upon juridical equality for all its members. The second, more recently built, foundation was economic, and its strongest element, the reciprocal trade agreements. Because we are temporarily embarrassed by the situation in Argentina, we seemingly have decided to scrap the whole machinery of the Pan American Union and to go in for conferences in which that Republic will be left out, but which will deal with agenda of the sort hitherto considered by the Union. A conference with the specific aim of discussing the Argentine question would be perfectly in order; a conference which tends to destroy the existing "permanent" juridical pattern simply because we have quarreled with one of the Latin American nations merely serves to confirm the other Latin American nations—whose economic interest presently requires them to give us lip service—in the opinion that Uncle Sam does not view himself as the biggest partner in the American comity, but rather as the Big Boss, wielding a Big Stick if anybody dares disagree with him.

It is certainly no happy augury for a world security organization that we, economically the world's greatest power, cannot even live on a decent give-and-take basis with the nations of our own hemisphere.

Manila

THERE is an immense difference between the victory at Manila and anything else we have accomplished. General MacArthur has returned to the Philippines as he said he would return—in the dark moments when no one could be sure of anything—and of course Manila is not Boston, or Houston, or San Diego, or a city in our own land, yet the liberation of Manila makes us know that we have freed something very close to our hearts and which the enemy had taken from us. This is because we are returning to a city we had lost, and because we are restoring confidence to a people who had placed confidence in us. We have not failed a people who placed their trust in us. That is why the return to Manila is so different from any success our arms have achieved anywhere else. In the Philippines we are not advancing into enemy territory, we are advancing among, we are returning among friends. Against an enemy of our friends. We gave our word that we would return among them; we have kept our word.

That would be sufficient reason for the American people to be proud of our armed forces and elated. It is not the most immediate and the most moving cause for the emotion we felt as we heard the news of our entry into Manila. It was when we knew that American prisoners had been freed that this victory became unlike our other victories. It was when the American prisoners came out of their prisons that the American troops knew what it meant to be liberators. In France, in Italy, and, indirectly, in Russia and elsewhere, American forces have helped free oppressed peoples, and they have known the gratitude of men and women who once more could be unafraid. But these peoples spoke to our soldiers in a foreign tongue. In Manila, when the prison barriers were smashed down, those who were free once more were Americans who had been captive. The men who freed them know, more clearly than they ever could have known before, what freedom means. Their knowledge also is ours and that is why all America rejoices.

The Wallace Appointment

BY A VERY close vote the Senate seems to have come to a satisfactory compromise with regard to Henry Wallace. His office is to be deprived of its control over the great government lending agencies, and his confirmation as Secretary of Commerce will not come to a vote until next month. In order to effect this compromise, the George Bill removing the lending agencies from his control, was passed and sent to the House, with an assurance from the President that he would not veto the bill in its Senate form. Enemies of Mr. Wallace in the House then worked out a new strategy. They are introducing an amended version of the George Bill, which would strip the Secretary of Commerce of more of his powers and which, if passed by both houses, would probably be vetoed. The hope of these ingenious parliamentarians is that under such circumstances the Senate would refuse to confirm Mr. Wallace's appointment and he would be "out in the cold." Needless to say, we disapprove of this whole maneuver. As we said editorially two weeks ago, we should be perfectly happy to see Mr. Wallace Secretary of Commerce, without the lending agencies. But we think it would be a tragedy to retire him to private life.

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Exit of the Armies

IF there were only ten of them left, a farmer forgotten in Iowa, a mother and daughter subsisting on Coca Cola forgotten in the closed hotel in Death Valley in California, three men checking the tracks in the New York subways with no trains running and the three men walking the tracks for miles and miles because no one is there to tell them to come out, a waiter all alone in the Mark Hopkins bar in San Francisco looking out over the bay at the sunset, a girl browning her back on the beach at Clearwater, Fla., two earnest students in the third grade waiting in a schoolroom for a teacher who will not come (that makes ten); if there were only ten Americans left, and every other American, man, woman and child, were in the American armed forces outside America, then those ten would be America and everyone else would be the army, but the millions in the army would not be America, the ten would be America. Because the army is never the nation. The army becomes the nation when it is disbanded in victory or in defeat. Not before. The nation sends out the army but the minute the army is formed the army lives a life of its own.

When there is a war each army lives a life of its own until there is an army which dies a death of its own. Then the war is over, and all the men in all the armies start living their individual lives and dying their separate and casual deaths.

At the present time nations all over the world have created armies and have sent them into a war in which the armies live a life which is entirely remote from the life of the nations which have formed them. As each soldier goes away to war there is someone to say farewell to him, and when a soldier has no family it is like being alone and sad at Christmas but there will be a band playing even for him, if it is in a town, or there will be children waving at all the soldiers so that he will be able to wave back and no one will notice—he will not notice so bitterly—that he is alone. The farewell to the soldier is a solemn moment in any country, anywhere, because, there is no use talking, everyone knows that when a soldier is in the army no one can plan anything anymore, and even when a girl gets married at the last moment the planning is really about a child, and she can only plan to be happy that way and not the way it would be with talk about a house, a savings account and everything. Everyone knows that it is this way for Americans but it is the same way for Germans or for Japanese, or for anyone else, and it has nothing to do with being right or wrong, or sending the soldiers to attack or to defend; it is just that the soldiers are going off into that special life which is war.

The armies are in the solitude of battle until victory or until defeat. Apart. Not only when they are fighting away from home but no matter where they are fighting. Apart, withdrawn, solitary, because they are the armies.

It is a great mystery that men should willingly live in this solitude of the armies, in this reclusion of war. Because there can be no real compulsion. Even if they shot one out of ten for rebellion there can be no great compulsion. Even if the officers shot one out of ten that would not explain anything. Because who could compel the officers if they turned also against the government? Not the courts or the police. Not even what the people might think about it, because the people would have to think that the officers and the soldiers knew best—because after all they had been doing the fighting. So that there is no explaining why all the armies remain faithfully in this closed world of battle until they are victorious or defeated. But they do remain. All of them remain. No matter for what cause they are fighting. With indescribable bravery. Until the last quarter of an hour.

And then it does not matter if, on the side of the victory, the soldier admits into his heart the thought of home—for he will be going home, and it does not matter if in his heart he is already out of the army, freed from the army, a survivor, someone who already is almost out of the darkness, looking at the fields and the city to which he will return. It does not matter if all the soldiers on the side of victory are already demobilized in their minds and hearts. For the waiting will not be long.

But it matters immensely on the other side, on the side of the defeated, when, in the last quarter hour, the soldier admits the thought of home into his heart. It matters immensely when there is this evasion from the closed world of the war. Because for that side it is the unfolding of defeat.

In any war one army wins and another army loses, and it is said customarily that one army defeats another army. But in the moment of defeat the defeated army ceases to exist, so that it is improper to say that there is a victorious army and also a defeated army. There is an army on the point of being victorious which faces an army on the point of being defeated. The next moment there is a victorious army on the point of losing its identity as an army, but it faces no longer another army, it faces only the soldiers who once formed an army but who now already have been released from the closed world of battle through defeat.

So that the victory of an army exists only for that fraction of time which is called the moment of decision. Immediately afterward there are no longer any armies—the victorious and the conquered alike have left the war.

C. G. PAULDING.

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Test of a Good Neighbor

An indictment of Californian opposition to the Mexican water treaty

John O'Grady

Once in a while, if you want to be a good citizen, it is not enough to have all the good sentiments of the good citizen; you have to know where a river runs and what some people want to do with the water that runs in the river. Sometimes they want to do more than swim in it or fish in it. Sometimes they are compelled to have other interests in it. Sometimes these interests become a clash of interests and there is international justice or there is not. That is why we are publishing this technical article about a river with maps to show where the river is and what the river means in terms of irrigation, and consequently of food and, consequently, of living conditions for Americans and—it happens—for Mexicans.—THE EDITORS.

LAST FEBRUARY the State Department submitted to the President, who, in turn, submitted to the Senate, a treaty negotiated with Mexico regarding the division of the waters of the Colorado, Rio Grande and Tijuana Rivers. An additional Protocol was similarly submitted last November. It is expected that the Senate will very shortly vote upon this treaty. Its enemies — almost entirely Californians — have been making an intensive effort to secure enough votes to defeat it; if they succeed, they will deal a vicious blow to good relations between ourselves and Mexico, for Mexicans, whose very livelihood depends upon securing their share of water from these rivers, will be able to point once again to Yankee hypocrisy, with its verbal professions of friendship and its denial of the substance of life to those whom it professes to love.

Since there is no opposition to the provisions of the treaty as they affect the Rio Grande and the Tijuana Rivers, our discussion of the treaty need deal only with the Colorado. Doubtless the debate in the Senate will likewise center upon this aspect of the matter. And since leaders in Latin American countries will no doubt observe very keenly what goes on in the Senate while the treaty is under consideration, Americans should themselves be informed on this rather technical subject. If, by reason of the desire of certain people to make money through the sale of power and water to Mexico, or, by reason of their desire to secure more than their fair share of Colorado River water, this treaty should be rejected, our neighbors in the country south of us will say, "I told you so. This is another evidence of Yankee imperialism. American business interests gobble up everything they want and the Good Neighbor policy is a farce."

It is first important to understand how vitally necessary water is to the lives of the Mexican people. There is probably nothing in our relationship with that country which causes more irritation than the water question. We must remember that Mexico has to produce sufficient food to feed twenty million people, and if Mexico is to raise the living standard of its people, this becomes its most besetting economic problem. For we must realize that only approximately eight percent of Mexico is arable land, and much of this eight percent is fruitful only when irrigated. What is more, the difficulties of securing irrigation water within Mexican territory are far more serious than in the United States. Mexico is a country of high mountains. It is a country whose streams are hard to harness. I have talked to many Mexicans about this matter of water supply, and they are deeply concerned about it. They feel that we do not want to be fair with them. Especially is this true of the waters of the Colorado River.

The official representatives of five of the States in the Colorado Basin and of Texas have accepted the new treaty with Mexico. But certain power interests, water districts and large commercial farmers in Southern California are spending large sums of money in a propaganda campaign to defeat the treaty. Under the pressure of such organized interests, the California Legislature has appropriated considerable sums to assist in this campaign and to present the general public with an erroneous picture. Before considering in some detail the arguments of the opposition, we must clearly understand the fundamental things covered by the treaty. There are, of course, many technical details which the lay reader would find it difficult to understand and which therefore can conveniently be used to becloud the issue.

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The normal annual flow of the Colorado is approximately 18,000,000 acre-feet (a unit of measure commonly applied to irrigation water). Because of the more rapid rate of development

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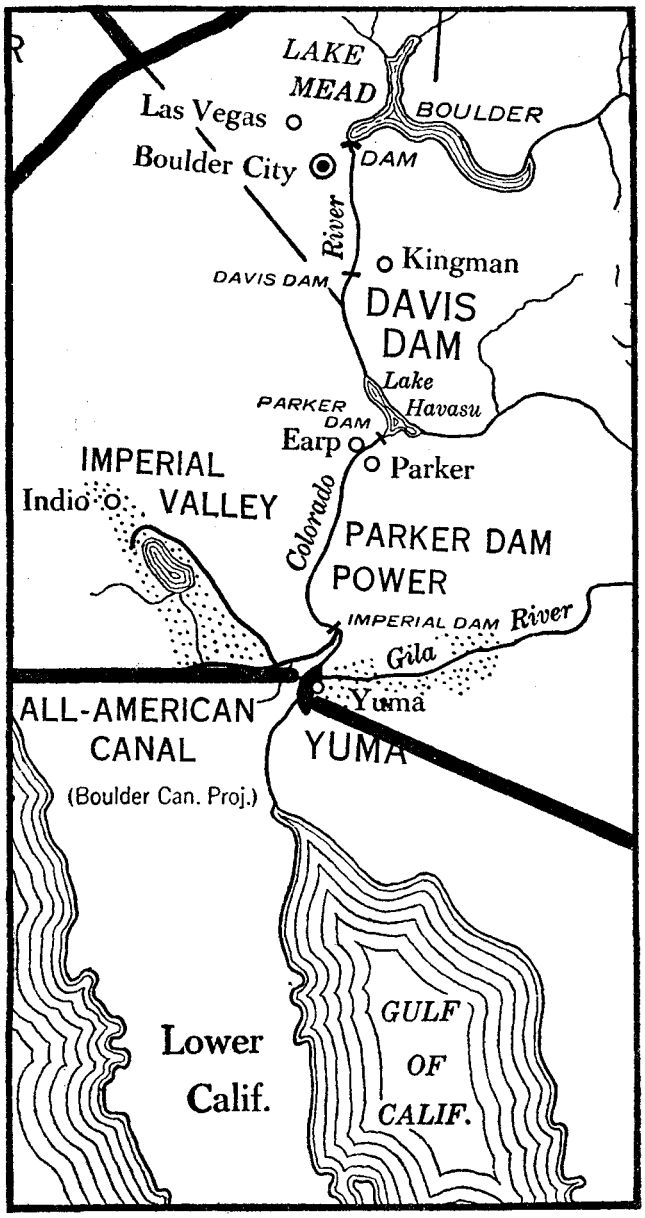
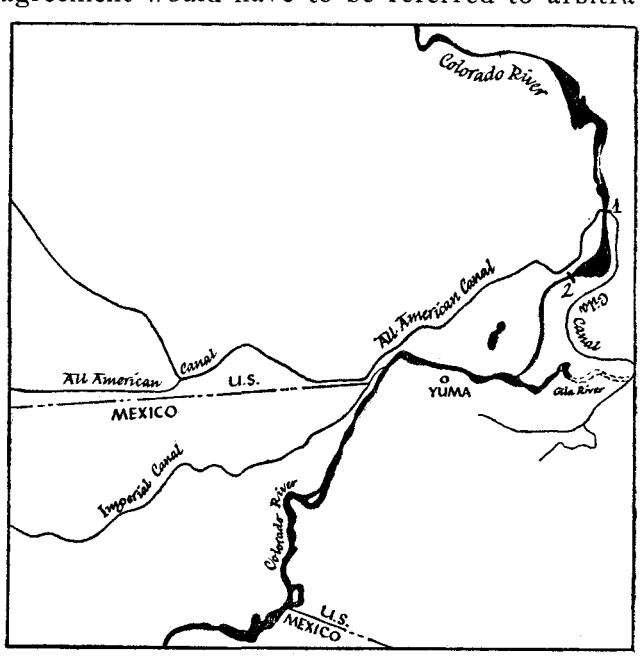


Map showing the Lower Colorado Valley, together with the major Federal irrigation and power projects along the course of the river. The Mexican Water Treaty guarantees 1,500,000 acre-feet of water a year to Mexico after the completion of the Davis Dam, except in years of severe drought, when all guaranteed water will be prorated. The heavy lines are boundaries of Federal Reclamation Projects under the Department of the Interior.

and greater political and financial strength of California, her neighbors in the Upper Basin feared that in time California might develop facilities for the use of most of the available water. There was therefore negotiated what is known as the Colorado River Compact. This provides that the States of the Upper Basin (Colorado, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho) have a right to 7,500,000 acre-feet of water annually and those of the Lower Basin (California and Arizona) have a right to an equal amount. It was incidentally provided that the States in the Lower Basin might have an additional million acre-feet of water. This latter provision, however, was principally designed to protect Arizona's interest in the Gila River (see maps).

At present approximately seven out of the eighteen million acre-feet of the river's total annual flow are lost in the Gulf of California. They are lost because neither Mexico nor the United States has adequate facilities for their use. Mexico might easily go ahead with plans to use much of this presently wasted supply; as a matter of fact there is evidence that the Mexican government is planning ahead with this in mind. The present treaty, therefore, is intended to do for all the States in the Colorado River Basin what the Colorado River Pact did for the Upper Basin States. Thus in fact we are safeguarding ourselves against Mexico's taking a much greater proportion—perhaps even twenty percent—of the waters of the Colorado River than she takes at present. Instead of that large amount, the treaty allots to Mexico the equivalent of about five percent or even less of what is technically called "virgin flow," since the greater part of Mexico's quota, because of her downstream position, will clearly be made up of "return flow"—water which has already been used for some purpose or other and has run back into the bed of the river.

Suppose that Mexico were to decide to go ahead with plans to use a larger share of Colorado water? What could we do about it? We could reach a disagreement with the Mexican Government, but in the last analysis such a disagreement would have to be referred to arbitra-



Detail of the Colorado Valley at the Mexican line showing the irrigation canal system, (1) the Imperial Dam and (2) the Laguna Dam. Both maps are based on Department of the Interior maps.

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tion. If the court of arbitration found that Mexico was using twenty percent of the waters of the Colorado, would that court conceivably reduce Mexico's share to five percent?

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Some months ago Mr. V. H. Rossetti sent THE COMMONWEAL a letter of protest against an editorial which had urged the adoption of the Mexican Water Treaty. His letter was typical of public statements by leaders of the California opposition. It involved a bold misuse of facts, bald assertions intended to be taken as facts and distortion and twisting of facts. There is no point in a detailed examination of his claims and assertions. Yet it is desirable to call attention to the basic mode of attack employed by the California opposition. Thus I shall briefly consider the first three of the points which Mr. Rossetti raised. Those interested in refreshing their memories will find his entire letter in the issue of September 29, 1944.

Here is Mr. Rossetti's first point. He refers, as I have said, to a previously published editorial.

> (1) It states that the proposed treaty is favored by Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Utah, Wyoming, and possibly by other states involved, and that it is bitterly opposed by "the large farmers of California." The facts are that certain representatives of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming on the Colorado River Basin Committee of Fourteen have expressed approval of the proposed treaty. But there has never been any general expression for or against the treaty by the people of these states, or by any large number of their responsible officials, state and local. Representatives of Texas have urged ratification of the treaty because this treaty gives to Texas in perpetuity a large quantity of the water of the Rio Grande River, which rises in Mexico. Nevada is on record through its representatives on the Colorado River Basin Committee of Fourteen as strongly opposed to the treaty. The statement that "the large farmers of California" oppose the treaty is misleading. The fact is that the treaty is opposed by the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Attorney General, both United States Senators and the Legislature of California, the latter body expressing its opposition by a joint resolution unanimously adopted by the State Senate and Assembly. The treaty is opposed by cities of California which have voiced their sentiments through their mayors, city councils, chambers of commerce and labor organizations. The treaty is also opposed by the California Farm Bureau and by the people of Imperial Valley. California's opposition to the vicious provisions of the proposed treaty comes from spokesmen of business, labor, industry, and home owners.

It is true that none of the States mentioned except California has taken any legislative action for or against the treaty. Nevertheless, we may reasonably assume that, when representatives of a given State formally appointed to represent that State in water matters have expressed their approval, the people of that State will be inclined to accept the judgment of their representatives, or at least to keep an open mind upon the matter. What has happened in California is simply that the representatives of certain interests have spent years of effort and much money to condition the minds of their fellow citizens against a fair treaty with Mexico. The result is that certain persons, interests and municipal governments, without waiting to consider the arguments, rushed to the conclusion that the treaty is bad and that they should act accordingly. And those Californians who are deliberately seeking their own economic advantage in this connection presumably hope that the treaty will be defeated before their fellow citizens have a chance to understand its merits.

> (2) The writer of this editorial implies that the water allotted to Mexico by the proposed treaty is vital to the future existence of the Mexican people. The fact is that the area within Mexico which is affected by the waters of the Colorado River does not exceed 2,000 square miles in extent, an infinitesimal fraction of the total area of Mexico. But the Colorado River basin area within the United States covers 242,000 square miles, one-thirteenth of the entire area of that country.

Indicative of the unfair approach adopted by the California opposition is the inference that, since only 2,000 square miles of the Colorado Basin lie in Mexico, that country has little claim to the waters of this river. To state the matter in this fashion ignores other and more important factors, such as the basic and all-compelling Mexican need to increase agricultural production and the proportionate importance that the Colorado River Valley and Delta in Mexico have in the Mexican economy. Finally, it ignores altogether a fact which any arbitral body would be bound to weigh heavily—the extent of the present use of Colorado water in Mexico.

> (3) The editorial goes on to say that "Californians do not actually need all the water they begrudge our neighbors across the border," attributing that opinion to the magazine *Business Week*. The fact is that California, Arizona and Nevada, and the other basin states as well, do actually need all of the water available from the Colorado River. The treaty would prevent performance by the United States of long standing contracts between the Federal Government and the various states and communities of the Colorado River basin. This is a matter of record and is admitted even by the responsible advocates of the proposed treaty. Nevertheless, California has always taken the position that Mexico should be given the right to as much water from the Colorado River as that country was ever able to divert and put to use prior to the regulation of the stream by the construction of Boulder Dam. That amount is approximately 750,000 acre-feet. The proposed treaty would guarantee to deliver to Mexico for all time 1,500,000 acre-feet of water annually, twice the amount that Mexico ever did or ever could use prior to the construction within the United States of Boulder Dam, and delivery of which is possible only because of investment of American dollars on American soil.

There is much specious argument in this paragraph. The simple fact is that present uses in California do not require the water which many Californians begrudge Mexico. Furthermore,

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California projects as they are now operating are far from being able to use the quantity of water that California is certain to receive, even in the distant future, under the proposed treaty. What has happened is that certain water and power interests in California have cleverly sought to establish claims, contractual and otherwise, which were intended to be used at some later date as bases for asserting that all future California projects must be served, regardless of what happens to Mexico or to the other basin states. Only since the signature of the Mexican Water Treaty have Californians shown any real solicitude for the rights of Arizona or of any of the other basin states to the waters of the Colorado. And the reason for the present solicitude must be perfectly obvious to anyone acquainted with the history of Colorado River negotiations. As to the "water contracts," the California opposition is always careful not to state the basic and controlling fact that delivery of water under these contracts is in every instance made "subject to availability thereof for use in California under the Colorado River Compact and the Boulder Canyon Project Act."

Furthermore, Mr. Rossetti, like many other Californians, speaks with finality as to the amount of water that Mexico was ever able to divert and put to use prior to the construction of Boulder Dam. The facts do not warrant the dogmatic assertion that the amount is approximately 750,000 acre-feet. Whether or not this amount is correct, however, is not a controlling factor, since the inference that Mexico should thereby be forever restricted to that amount finds no justification in international law or practice. The simple fact is that Mexico is now using at least 300,000 more acre-feet than the amount guaranteed under the treaty. Then, too, Mr. Rossetti and some of his compatriots seek always to give the impression that the 1,500,000 acre-feet guaranteed in the treaty will be made up of primary water, whereas qualified engineers generally concede that half or even more than half of this guaranteed quantity will consist of return flows, assuming always that full development takes place in the United States. In the absence of such full development, of course, there would be no question regarding the adequacy of the water supply. And finally, it is not unimportant to remember that under the old Alamo Canal concession, Mexico was entitled to one half of the flow from this canal in the reach which was on Mexican territory, and that for many years before the All-American Canal was put into operation, the average flow through the Alamo was 3,000,000 acre-feet or more.

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There is practically no danger of California losing anything if the Senate approves the new treaty with Mexico. It will be many years before California can fully use the great quantity of Colorado River water guaranteed it under the Compact and this Treaty—a quantity far greater than California is at present using. Certainly fair-minded Californians will want likewise to be fair with Mexico. They will not wish to take a stand that may jeopardize our relationships not merely with Mexico but with other of our southern neighbors. Surely they will not be carried away by interests desirous of continuing to sell water and power to Mexicans, even at the risk of imperiling our good relationship with another sovereign nation. I am sure that the groups opposing this Treaty do not represent the real attitude of the rank and file of California's citizenry.

The emphasis in any discussion of this Treaty directed to the general public should be upon broad basic principles and not upon technicalities. The simple facts are that this Treaty, while barely protecting existing developments in Mexico, affords protection to the basin states against any large expansion of use in Mexico, thus preserving enough water for present needs in the United States and assuring a sufficient margin to meet the vital future requirements in those states. A treaty which puts a definite and drastic limitation on Mexico's own development and which also allows for the fulfillment of titanic plans for expansion of irrigation and power in the United States can hardly be termed over-generous to Mexico.

Victorian Vignette

ANNE FREMANTLE

FIFTY years ago Christina Rossetti died—very appositely in the Octave of Christmas, for she was one of the most successful of modern carol writers. We owe her—to mention only two of her best known—"In the bleak mid-winter" and "Love came down at Christmas." Her father was of peasant stock, from the Abruzzi; he fled his native land, after the Neapolitan king Ferdinand, *il re lazzarone* of ribald memory, had revoked a Constitution he had granted. From this earlier bourbonisation of Europe Christina's father sought asylum in England, and two of his four children were splendid examples of the value to an hospitable nation of the political refugee, for both the poetess and her more flamboyant painter brother, Dante Gabriel, were lasting ornaments to the country of their adoption. Christina's godmother was a niece of Napoleon; yet she herself would not read Shelley because he was an agnostic, and pasted slips of paper over the purple passages in Swinburne (who, however, nothing daunted, dedicated a whole volume of verse to her). Yet she was, fundamentally, what Karl Marx claimed the artist always is, a non-political animal: "artists," the author of "Das Kapital" concluded, "for that reason are kittle-

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cattle." Christina's first verses were privately printed by her grandfather when she was twelve years old; and in her sixty-four years she wrote a vast amount of lyrics, good, bad and indifferent. But, as her brother wrote of her, she was always truly a poetess. She seems to stand, spiritually, and also as an executant, midway between Emily Brontë and Emily Dickinson: though not as warm or complete a woman as the first, nor as great a writer as the second. Today to us she seems, in her spinstered serenity, remote indeed. Yet such gifted moderns as Phyllis McGinley and Marianne Moore owe something to her tidy loveliness. Nor are we so richly fruited with poets that we can afford to forget or to neglect the author of "Goblin Market" and "Does the road wind up the hill all the way" or of "When I am dead, my dearest, sing no sad songs for me."

The fact that Christina Rossetti died fifty years ago startles us into realising that the twentieth century is almost half over. Stock taking has always been a January occupation, and we may well ask ourselves whether the differences, in form and content, between verse of 1850-1900 and that written between 1900-1945, are in any way characteristic of the differences between past and present discontents.

Paul Verlaine, writing nostalgically of centuries he preferred to his own, describes the seventeenth century as Jansenist, and the middle ages as *"Enorme et delicat."* The eighteenth century has always been dubbed the Age of Reason: could we not with propriety label the years 1800-1860 as the Jubilee of Industry and the following forty years as the "Quarantaine" of Science? Actually, the entire nineteenth century was above all iconoclastic, and this quality is reflected even by its poets. At the beginning there were the great anarchists—Blake, Shelley and the young Wordsworth; the cynic Byron, the pagan Keats and Coleridge. Later the note becomes wistful: in the icy wake of Sir James Fraser, Charles Darwin, Marx, Kant and Herbert Spencer—the frozen poets are plaintive. It would seem that they sense that the great debunkers, in attacking the existence of the Divinity, also threatened, Samson-like, the pillars of their own humanity. Tennyson, in the slow stanzas of "In Memoriam," is mourning less Arthur Hallam than his own shaken faith in the immortality of the soul, and later, he trod "by backward steps" to "the sweet Grail"

> In color like the fingers of a hand
> Before a burning taper.

Browning, too, wrote nostalgically of his beloved Italy where in the little steep cities

> . . . the drums they beat
> And the body of God goes down the street,

and of the strange churches where

> God is made and eaten all day long.

Even Swinburne, atheistic homunculus that he was, could not resist apostrophizing the "Son of Man by lying tongues adored" in one of his greatest sonnets ("On the Russian Persecution of the Jews"). Poor George Eliot was all her life "seriously incommoded by the lack of something above and beyond science and ethics." As Henry Adams wrote at the close of the century "the fact that the most powerful emotion of man, next to the sexual, should disappear . . . might be a personal defect." On the other hand, it might be the *zeitgeist*. Yet even in the heyday of invention and imperialism, of steam engines and factory acts, there were more mystics writing in English verse in the latter half of the nineteenth century than there had been for nearly a hundred years. They owed everything to Blake, whose description of the place "where all men are at home" is probably one of the most complete ever penned.

> To see the world in a grain of sand
> And heaven in a wild flower,
> Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
> And eternity in an hour.

But Emily Brontë's account of the return from that place "where the ear begins to hear and the eye begins to see . . . the soul to feel the flesh and the flesh to feel the chain," can hold a candle even to the bright light of John of the Cross. George Macdonald too was no mean explorer. His "dealings with the fairies" are full of snatches of remembered verse; and Elizabeth Barrett Browning wondered, "What was he doing, the Great God Pan" though she was never so very concerned with a greater than Pan. But it is Christina Rossetti who is the watershed, as it were, between the intellectual approach that was the heritage of the eighteenth century.

> Only the Trinity which made it, can
> Fill up the vast three-cornered heart of man.

and the singing of Gerard Hopkins, Francis Thompson, T. S. Eliot and W. H. Auden. She, poor girl, had little joy or comfort from her own verse. She was as kneaded by fear and anguish as her contemporary, Teresa of the Child Jesus. Though she knew the saints were "cast down but not destroyed, chastened not slain, they, too, pent passions in a house of clay," yet "there was no bliss drew nigh to her that she might run to greet."

It may be wondered why she never became a Catholic. Her Italian background, her deep devotion to Our Lady and to the Blessed Sacrament and to almost every saint in the calendar were

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unusual in the average Anglican life of her day. Her brother, William, wrote of her in his memoir that's a preface to her collected works, "I have often thought that Christina's proper place was in the Roman Catholic Church, yet I never traced any inclination in her to join it." In fact, she rejected one of her only two known suitors because the poor man, who had left the church to propose to her, fell back into it. It is possible that the politically anti-clerical background of her parents, whom she adored, had something to do with her anti-Roman attitude. Perhaps more may be accounted for by the fact that to her religion was "far more a thing of the heart than of the mind; she clung to and loved the Christian creed because she loved Jesus Christ."

Indeed, as her brother William goes on to tell us, she disliked any evidence of Christianity, yet in her obituary of Cardinal Newman she seems to have realised something of what she was missing. "Yea, take thy fill of love because thou didst choose love Not in the shadows but the deep."

Peace through Democracy

Pius XII's Christmas Eve message

Thomas P. Neill

POPE PIUS XII's last Christmas message is in many ways the most significant of his six Christmas addresses to the world on the problems of war and peace. Three times he had spoken on the problem of securing international peace, and twice he had talked of domestic peace. This last message was directed to both problems: that of good government within nations, and that of good relations among them.

But it was unique in centering both discussions around what the Pope terms "the problem of democracy." "We are deeply convinced," he wrote, "of the supreme importance of this problem for the peaceful progress of mankind." Therefore he was "anxious to take the occasion of Christmastide to point out along what lines a democracy befitting human dignity can . . . secure happy results." His analysis of democracy—national and international—stands as a classic in modern political thought.

This seems to have been generally recognized by the American press. The *Washington Star's* comment was typical: "Pope Pius XII has issued a message to mankind that should rank as one of the outstanding utterances of our epoch. Standing 'far above the battle,' the Pontiff deals with underlying realities and enunciates basic principles on which a constructive world order can be established."

Behind the favorable comment on the Pope's message, however, there seems to lurk—even among many Catholics—a rather serious misunderstanding. For many believe that the Pope has reversed papal teaching on government and had sought to make peace for his Church with democracy. This is bound to be the conclusion of such an anti-clerical liberal as he who wrote not so many years ago: "A reconciliation between the Roman Church and modern civilization—that is, democracy or liberal civilization in the meaning that we give to these words—is utterly impossible, and the very idea of such a compromise has been stifled irretrievably by the church as anathema."

Such an implication is false. For no pope has ever condemned democracy as a form of government—though certain "democratic theories," notably Rousseau's, have frequently been condemned. Leo XIII, as a matter of fact, stated specifically: "It is not of itself wrong to prefer a democratic form of government, if only the Catholic doctrine be maintained as to the origin and exercise of power." The same Pope had on several occasions spoken favorably of democracy in this country, and he had formally stated the Catholic teaching that the form of government, of itself, is a matter of indifference so long as the government performs its functions properly and does no one injustice through its organization.

There is nothing revolutionary in the Pope's treatment of democracy, then, but there are nevertheless overtones in the address which are altogether new. There is a direct appeal by the Pope to the people of the world rather than to their governments, a frank statement that people everywhere are convinced "that had there been the possibility of censuring and correcting the actions of public authority the world would not have been dragged into the vortex of a disastrous war, and that to avoid for the future the repetition of such a catastrophe we must vest efficient guaranties in the people itself." This is a strong censure of dictatorial government everywhere; it is a frank appeal to peoples of the world to take the question of peace and war into their own hands.

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There is a new note, too, in the Pope's recognizing that the future—for good or ill—belongs to democracy. And he states this with no regret or fear, but with optimism and relief. All through the message runs the strain that any hope for a better world rests with peoples rather than with their governments, that other international arrangements have all failed in the past but that one based upon the peoples of the world, if properly invigorated and guided, can succeed.

With this new overtone of an open appeal to the peoples of the world and a genuine optimism for the future—unusual in this day when so many say the peace is already lost—Pius XII restates traditional Catholic teaching on democracy in words that constitute a notable document. He introduces his discussion of the problem of democracy by stating again that "the Church looks not so much to its external structure and organization—which depend on the special aspirations of each people—as to the individual himself, who, so far from being the object and as it were a merely passive element in the social order, is in fact, and must be and continue to be its subject, its foundation and its end."

The exalted dignity of man remains the focal point of political thought with Pius XII, as it has always been in the Catholic tradition. State and government exist not for their own sake, but to further man's spiritual and material welfare. No government—democratic or not—can rightfully violate man's dignity or deprive him of the right to be a human person. From this fundamental right to live as a human being flow all those rights we call "inalienable."

This cardinal point of man's dignity, of his welfare being the purpose for which society and government exist, is in danger of being obscured in these days—even in this country, as it certainly is in Germany or in Russia. It is for this reason that Pius XII has turned to it again and again. He dwelt on it at greatest length in his Christmas message of 1942 when he listed a new bill of rights for man in this industrial world, and when he showed how these rights were violated by both the *laissez-faire* and the totalitarian philosophies of government. But this is not a new point with Pius XII. It was stressed many times by Leo XIII and by Pius XI before him. It is as old as the body of Catholic social philosophy.

In relation to the rights and dignity of the human person democracy can be of two kinds: it can be based on them and protect them, or it can deny and violate them; it can be government truly "of, for and by the people," or it can herd them like sheep and do their thinking for them. The Pope therefore proceeds to analyze and contrast the sound democracy of which he approves and the perverted democracy which he condemns as forthrightly as have former popes.

Since democracy means that the people ultimately decide questions of policy and choose officials to put those policies into effect, the Pope states that the fundamental right of a citizen in a democracy is the right "to express his own views of the duties and sacrifices that are imposed on him, not [to be] compelled to obey without being heard." The citizen must be "in the position to hold his own personal opinion, to express it and to make it prevail in a fashion conducive to the common good." This right to the forming and expressing of an independent opinion, and having it reckoned when public decisions are made, naturally implies such guarantees as freedom of conscience, of speech and press, of association and petition, of access to all information necessary for the forming of intelligent opinions.

Associated with these rights, which are essential for a citizen in a democratic country, is the duty to use them rightfully and thus to perform the charges of citizenship properly. The citizen has the right to form his opinion freely, but he is morally responsible for the choice he makes. Unless the people are conscious of this responsibility and act accordingly, the Pope warns, there can be no sound democracy. "In a people worthy of the name the citizen feels within him the consciousness of his personality, of his duties and rights, of his freedom joined to respect for the freedom and dignity of others."

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In a sound democratic society there is human liberty and human equality. But human liberty is not license, and equality means the essential equality of human beings before the law and before God. It does not imply an absolute sameness of talent, of position or of possessions. To preserve human dignity, liberty and equality, the Pope points out (repeating the Catholic traditional teaching) authority is necessary. Because men are not angels, government is needed to direct them and to protect them from each other. This government has an authority that can come directly from the people, but its ultimate source is in God Who ordained that man live in society. Since the government's authority resides ultimately in God, it is limited by His natural and divine-positive law. Democratic government, therefore, has no more right than any other kind to tyrannize over the individual person and deny him his God-given (in distinction to state-given) rights. But it has the right to respectful obedience from its citizen as long as it stays within the limits of its proper authority.

In a noteworthy paragraph Pius XII describes the characteristics that should be possessed by members of the legislature, "the center of gravity of a democracy." They should be "a select group of men . . . spiritually eminent and of strong char-

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acter . . . not restricted to any profession or social standing . . . with a sense of the practical and equitable, true to themselves in all circumstances, men of clear and sound principles, with sound and clear-cut proposals to make."

This is the Pope's analysis of true democracy, where the people are alive intellectually and morally, where they are truly free and independent, and where they rule themselves through a government they remain free to guide and to criticize. In contrast to this sound democracy he warns against that "state despotism" which disguises itself in democratic trappings. This is dictatorial rule, masked by plebiscites and "popular" demonstrations, where the people are treated like sheep rather than morally mature men. This is the "democracy" which claims unlimited power and infallible authority, against which the human person has no right of appeal. This is the "democracy" that denies men human liberty while speciously telling them they are free, that offers them equality by reducing them all to ciphers. This is the "democracy" where the people are a passive mob manipulated by a dictatorial individual or clique for the ruler's selfish interest. This is the "democracy" that violates man's dignity, denies God as the source of all authority, and worships itself as divine. This is the "democracy"—advocated by Rousseau yesterday and Hitler today—which has always been condemned by papal teaching, and is condemned in Pius XII's sixth Christmas message.

After analyzing democracy the Pope turns his attention to international affairs. Here again he says nothing revolutionary. For he repeats points he had made before, calling mankind (1) to recognize the unity of world society and to provide effective international organization, (2) to make "war on war" and to outlaw it for all time to come, (3) to provide just peace terms when war is done so that all states can hope to live as equals in the "family of nations" again. But here again there is a new overtone to the Pope's remarks. It is to the people he is now speaking on the subject of foreign relations, not to their governments. He is talking now of democracy in international government, of the peoples forcing their proper representatives to erect sound machinery to maintain peace, of "sane democracy able to pervade the vast and thorny ground of foreign relations."

Pius XII asserts that "the future of peace" depends on the recognition by "the representatives and pioneers of democracy . . . of the unity of mankind and of the family of peoples." He calls upon peoples everywhere to heed the call: "War on war" and "to do everything to ban once and for all wars of aggression as legitimate solution of international disputes and as a means toward realizing national aspirations."

As he has frequently done in the past, therefore, the Pope calls for "the formation of an organ for the maintenance of peace, of an organ invested by common consent with supreme power to whose office it would also pertain to smother in its germinal state any threat or isolated or collective aggression." He says nothing of the machinery through which this organization should function; that is a matter for political experts. But he does insist we should learn from failures in the past—obviously referring to the League of Nations—and that we should give this international body all power necessary to perform its function of preventing war and punishing recalcitrant nations.

He also lays down principles to guide the treatment of the aggressor nations when the present war is done. Punishment for aggression is just, and "security measures until the bonds of mutual trust, violently broken, should be gradually welded together again" are permissible. But these punishments and security measures must be so devised that all nations can look forward to the day when they can again associate with the victorious nations on a plane of equality. Punishment of "war criminals," the Pope says, is also within the bounds of justice. "But if justice presumed to judge and punish not merely individuals but even whole communities together, who could not see in such a procedure a violation of the norms which guide every human trial?"

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As a document, Pope Pius XII's sixth Christmas message will remain important for: (1) Restating and developing papal political philosophy, particularly on democracy as a sound form of government, but a form liable to perversion if the people are a passive mob instead of intellectually alert and morally responsible. This is an explicit condemnation of dictatorship and an equally explicit approval of true democracy.

(2) Frankly recognizing in 1944 that the future belongs to democracy, that what the future will bring depends largely on how "the problem of democracy" is solved. Till now democracy has been tried in only a few countries of the world; for the first time in history it has become universally possible. Because the people are becoming literate and critical, because "they have awakened, as it were, from a long torpor," sound democracy is possible. The Pope can therefore tell us that "the democratic form of government appears to many as a postulate of nature imposed by reason itself." This is a statement that could have been applied in the past to only a few countries in the world, but compulsory education and such things as the radio make it possible for a morally responsible people—the prerequisite of democracy—to exist almost everywhere.

(3) Directly appealing to the people to force

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their government to erect international institutions to prevent war in the future, and to bring lasting peace by justly and prudently dealing with the defeated powers. It is highly significant that the Pope in 1944 goes over the heads of the governments, as it were, to the people. It is highly significant that he sees in them the hope for tomorrow.

(4) Offering real hope to the people of the world in a day when disillusionment has set in everywhere on what the end of war will bring. "Blessed be the Lord!" he cries. "Out from the mournful groans of sorrow, from the very depths of the heart-rending anguish of oppressed individuals and countries there arises an aura of hope." He sees the real possibility "for a new era of far-reaching renovation, the complete reorganization of the world."

(5) Finally, as a sort of postscript, putting himself on record to express his "heartfelt gratitude" to various nations for the charitable aid they have rendered him. Significantly—and this is important in an official, public message from the Vatican—this country is singled out for special mention. Myron Taylor, moreover, is given particular mention—an unusual thing in such an address as this. Praise and gratitude are then extended to "the head of the state, the government and people of Spain"; the government of Ireland is thanked next; and then in alphabetical order are named Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Italy, Lithuania, Peru, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Hungary and Uruguay. The omissions will be as significant as the order of mention for scholars of diplomacy in the future, when they study the relations between the Vatican and the states of the world in these days of war and approaching peace.

Notes on the Condition of Negroes

GEORGE STREATOR

THERE ARE in the United States some twelve to fifteen million Negroes, and of late a lot is being said about the "problem." Some startling inequalities are being disclosed, of course, and the information on education in the South gathered by Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard University and presented to the New York *Times* forum, is the most startling of all. It is not known by enough people that the poverty of the South still stands out in a way that justifies calling the South "our own Balkan states." If New York spends $6,000 per year per schoolroom, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Alabama spend about $100 per year per schoolroom for their Negro children. The whites get usually about ten times as much.

On the other hand, the South spends more out of its treasury in proportion to what she has than any other section of the nation. What is the answer, then; the use of Federal funds? It will be news to a lot of people that the Federal Government at present says to the South, "Here is some money, spend it for education." Then the South proceeds to dish it out just as she dishes out her "own" money: If the Negro had been getting one dollar and the whites nine, then the South takes ten Federal dollars and gives nine to the whites and one dollar to the Negro according to custom!

A few weeks ago this writer wandered among a few Negro colleges down South where he has some old friends who have stuck it out trying to carry light into benighted regions. He finds all of them still voting for Roosevelt wherever they can vote at all, and inclined to show no remorse over the passing of "Cotton Ed" Smith and the retirement of Martin Dies. Yes, they are definitely "Wallace men," but more as a gesture against the South than as a statement of economic policy. (Most of the South—white or black—is *for* or *against* on racial and emotional bases.)

There is a bit of progress. Fifteen years of crusading by Greensboro school teachers has brought the appointment of Negro policemen to handle Negro prisoners and to police Negro areas. However, it is assumed that a white man gone berserk in the ghetto will be held until the "wagon" arrives. Charlotte, North Carolina, began using Negro policemen to hunt out Negro gunmen some months earlier. All right, let's say that hiring Negro college men to hunt out gunmen is progress. But we still have a bounty crop of Negro gunmen all over the South. Dr. Johnson's figures on the poor quality of Negro education in the Southern Balkans certainly are worth reading since ignorance, poor health and crime are generally conceded to be linked together.

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But it is evident that Negroes are slowly coming to be viewed as people in the State of North Carolina, and teachers' salaries have been equalized without the fanfare of lawsuits or *PM* journalism. It seems that the last Governor was convinced by some North Carolina Negroes that it was worth doing . . . and he did it with one flourish of the pen. Of course it was hoped that the Governor of South Carolina, between historic drinks, would be moved to do the same, but progress is a century delayed in the State where Negroes are fifty-one percent of the population, and the backbone of a feudal existence for the ruling classes.

Dr. Johnson has put before us the shocking statistics that prove more than anything else how poor the South is, how exploited, how bewildered,

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and how hopelessly misled by theories of racism and genteel ignorance. In Palestine it is Arab and Jew; in Mississippi it is two colors of Americans worshipping the same God, but two colors nevertheless. The tragedy is the same.

And this genteel ignorance runs all through the South. It affects black and white alike. Everybody is afraid of being caught doing an honest day's work. We found ourselves lonely in a desert trying to tell some Negro college girls that if the white college girls grabbed up the airlines and made them glamorous, there was no reason why the Negro college girls could not grab up the railroads and make them equally glamorous. At present writing, the Negro college is busy doing the same old job the same old way: training school teachers who, in turn, will train . . .

Now, the Catholic "progressives" in race relations are about as reactionary as the Protestant brother in his educational views, with the possible exception of the sorely misunderstood people working to give Negro boys rigid education at Saint Emma I. & A. Institute, Rock Castle, Va. But that is an entirely different story that I want to write about when another year has passed.

Of course, we ask, what are the objectives of Negro education down South? The most obvious thing to keep in mind is that Negro education in the South is less practical than white education, far less *practical.* Tuskegee Institute was teaching considerable stage-craft, not so long ago. But Macon County, Alabama, is next-door to the steel and iron industries of the South, and there was a place for metallurgy, ship-building, and heavy construction, lots of run of the mill mechanics. When the war came, Tuskegee went begging for welders' schools like any public school. It is true that the organized white labor crafts, in particular, of course, the Boilermakers and the Machinists, put on an act for some months to prevent the opening of the schools. But that is exactly the spot where we must learn to look for trade union discrimination: in peace time, when apprentices are being trained.

So we had Tuskegee with a reputation and no mechanics, and the mills and mines and shipyards of this country begging for mechanics. This means that these private schools with reactionary boards of trustees, and reaction does not always mean *white reaction,* must be viewed for what they are, not for what history says they were founded to be.

Mr. Johnson also made much of the fact, and he was right in so doing, that the poor quality of Southern education takes its toll from the more advanced areas where the Negro draftee has the higher rate of rejection. The Alabama Negro boy moves to New York. He is rejected. The white boy with good educational background and good health goes off to war in place of the sickly, sometimes stupid black boy who is the product of our national indifference to the black man's health and education.

There is a measure of awakening among the Negro élite in Atlanta. Our best business men have had their starts there, and Atlanta has some pretty sound Negro businesses that can hold their own any place. Recently the graduate faculty of Atlanta University has put on paper the way the City of Atlanta has distributed public funds for the education of the races. Yes, it reads like the record of the nazis in handling the funds of the Jews in Poland. We all know that. The question is, how long will white people feel that Negroes do not know this?

The so-called "industrial" schools that the South maintains for Negroes are not from any angle of reasoning even remotely connected with a growing Southern industry. For example, the textile industry in the South, Jim Crow to the very heart except for some good spots in Danville, Virginia, and a few mills in middle Georgia and in Alabama not far from Birmingham, remains a challenge to Negro and white intelligence in the South. The South ought to bow its head in shame at the "Japanese policy" under which our Southern textiles are operated: low wages, stinky working conditions, and, to make it tops in degradation, it is kept a poor white man's hell, although the masses of poor whites have for decades been "sold" on the idea that it is a white man's industry.

But Negro leadership does not grasp the significance of textiles and rayon, hosiery and overalls, the tops of Southern industry. Negroes have been slow to grasp the hints Broadus Mitchell (now of the ILGW) gave ten years ago that Negro leadership should stop thinking bedlam and turn some studied attention to the business of getting jobs in the textile industry. Meanwhile, the textile barons have handed out to Negroes a bit of charity here and there, and a lot of hokum about the unwillingness of white workers to sweat their hearts out alongside Negroes. The point is, if the textile barons wanted the two races to sweat their hearts out together, the whites would be too weak to resist it if they so wanted. But it is the best "Japanese policy" to keep a few black "Manchurians" handy to throw into the gap as a threat to the very, very meagre white man's standard of living.

It is interesting that a Negro weekly, the Norfolk (Virginia) *Journal and Guide* has struck out for Negro sobriety, and more attention to job efficiency. In a city where Negro shipbuilders and 'longshoremen have for many years been "tops" in efficiency, it is well that the *Guide* argue that Negro war-workers have got to "get wise to themselves" before the golden age is gone. What with war money rolling in the street and our

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colleges packed with the children of our war-rich, it is time that Negroes with the means and influence call a halt to the age of glamor. It is hoped that our various uplift and interracial bodies do not jump down the *Guide's* throat for the editor's wisdom in speaking plain words.

Finally, would it not be historically possible that Negroes in America emerge a wiser and better people after this war, a little short of funds and wisdom but disciplined by the white's meanness, to the point that the black workers of this country would build character and ideals? This does not mean that I am suggesting that black racism should replace white racism. I do argue that black self-respect will demand a much higher service to the race than that which is now being given by Negro leadership and friends, incorporated. The recognizable lag between proclamation of intent and fulfillment is not one of criminal intent so much as the failure to recognize the size of the job that must be done with white and Negroes alike before they are ready to treat each other with a measure of fairness and decency.

Will this common ground be struck through this great struggle? That we doubt. The struggle breeds ambitions and problems of its own. But first of all the lowly Negro peasant (he is now more often a mass production war worker) must learn to respect himself as a human being worth more, and it is not a value reached in dollars. As a man of self-respect, his head is turned to the future, but a future in which material prosperity is not the only reason for living.

Let us grant that the Negro is getting a raw deal in the amount of higher education being granted him. Way down at the bottom it seems that the average Negro's real loss is a good doctor, a good common-school education, a good job that will feed his family and keep his women out of the streets.

The Stage & Screen

Up In Central Park

MICHAEL TODD'S current Crowded Commotion poses one or two problems. The book by Herbert and Dorothy Fields covers one angle of the high Irish domination of the city government in the 70's. Setting the scene in the Central Park of the period—constantly being reconstructed, constantly being paid for—the story travels to the victorious exposure of Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall by the New York *Times*. Real history stuff, and jammed naturally with innumerable opportunities for hoopla and guile among the urban shrubbery. As material for a musical, I should call this very good lumber indeed, but the funny thing is that it is exactly the musical end of the business which sags most seriously. For all I know, there may be something especially difficult about composing airs and verses for a period piece; although certainly the Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein have successfully boxed the problem, and in "Lady In The Dark," Kurt Weil and Ira Gershwin accomplished the feat of writing in the exact styles determined by the memories of their hectic heroine as well as by her up-to-date dreaming. But here, Sigmund Romberg and Dorothy Fields have chosen to build on neither nostalgia, satire, nor swing, so that what emerges is a great lot of fiddle reminiscent only of the 20's but incidental to a tale of the turn of the century. I do not mean to complain of the lyrics and tunes *per se*—they seemed to me to be agreeable, singable stock—but their groundlessness sprawls the show, and in certain instances—the lovely "Currier and Ives" skating scene, for example—Mr. Romberg's refusal of the traditional was annoying. I think almost anyone would have chosen to waltz this (to Waldteufel, or hints of him, certainly), but here from a good swooping legato start, the things descends to a jig and the flavor is lost. Again, the entire thing is over-pictured by Howard Bay with one endlessly busy backdrop succeeding another for no reason at all. This designer's heavy stress on authentic detail is good only in snatches and his domination of this show is not to its advantage. I wish Mr. Todd would edit more carefully; I think his money goes in all the wrong directions. It is so good to see one rollick sprung from a book, but when the book battles its music *and* its mounting, this is simply bad producing. No showmanship.

I would like to underline the dance-arrangements of Helen Tamiris as delightful, and it was fun to find Noah Webster in the (very) round, playing the "Boss," himself. For the rest, I should say the players displayed a determined competence on all sides, but there is no personality to discuss.

A final note will be that I think it was concerning an altercation over this show that a Philadelphia critic hurled forth with: "Incidentally, I review shows and not audience reaction. . . ." Neat and no comment. But I think even this admired colleague would admit that audience reaction in this town is something of a marvel. Here, one finds second-night people firm in each seat, even a fringe of them standing at the rear, and at every curtain, there is clapping; but it is never one's neighbors, it is never one's glimpsed acquaintances, it is never anyone one can spot. And it is rarely oneself. "Paper Applause!" was one of my friend's quips for the riddle, but I am uncertain that this answer is serious enough. After all, the business is making. It seems to me the Theater is running on promotion and faraway hearsay; certainly not because of any experience shared or enjoyed by its spectators. Perhaps the best reaction to the fakery was that of my most cherished Second Ticket, a young designer, now Sergeant in Armored Infantry and, I think, in France. Confronted by the "Gigantica" of this piece, plus others, among them the Guild's "Sing Out Sweet Land," he carefully and apologetically explained his behavior to me over the nearest beer: "First I get mad, then I get sick,

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and then (I'm sorry), I have to go to sleep." Well, as he sleeps very tight and with no noise at all, it's all right with me. But I must say it seems a stupid way to spend one's soldier's last furlough. And one's own brains. (*At the Century.*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

No Cigar

SINCE *"A Song to Remember"* has characters named Frederic Chopin, George Sand, Franz Liszt, Joseph Elsner, it might be presumed that the film is meant to be biographical. And since the music of Chopin is played (and very well) throughout the picture this deduction is quite reasonable. But as it turns out, "A Song to Remember," for all its fine production, is another warning to moviegoers that they must not use too much reason in connection with things Hollywood.

Sidney Buchman's screenplay, adapted from a story by Ernst Marischka, is about a child genius named Frederic Chopin who grows up to be a burning patriot and great composer. After refusing to play at a reception in Poland for a representative of Russia, he escapes to Paris with Joseph Elsner, his big-hearted old teacher. He meets de Musset, Liszt and other advanced intellectuals of the day—including a svelte, beautiful lady author named George Sand. She wears smoothly tailored men's clothes, and also expresses her free thinking in other ways. She soon makes Frederic the pet of candlelit salons. Poor Professor Elsner, with all his *gemuetlichkeit* and ambitions for the rising composer, is dropped. In fact he is practically forgotten by the time George and Fred get to Majorca for a romantic interlude. Later, in a very moving scene, the indignant music teacher and the sleek siren have quite a tussle over Chopin. The dame wins the first round, but Elsner finally regains his famous pupil. Although Chopin's health is rapidly failing, his love for Poland rises anew. He breaks with Sand, goes on a concert tour to raise money for the Poles, finally collapses after a series of montage scenes that are accompanied by a magnificent sound track of Chopin compositions. Pictorially there is a pretty touch in the last of these montages when bright-red, technicolored blood falls on ivory-white keys. The film ends with the death of Chopin after Sand refuses to go to him.

It is possible that the real Chopin-Sand story could be told in the movies. But the direction would have to be more honest, more meaningful than the musical comedy treatment with which Charles Vidor handled his cast in "A Song to Remember." Cornel Wilde was well chosen for the Chopin rôle; and he gives a creditable performance; it could be made more factual, however, by his portraying the composer as a social snob attracted to women of rank. Lavishly costumed Merle Oberon hardly looks like the woman who has been referred to as a dumpy sibyl. Her George Sand selfishly appropriates Chopin for her own whims but suggests neither the witty, cigar-smoking novelist of the 1840's nor the motherly nurse who administered to the frail victim of tuberculosis. The factual movie made about this love affair could well do without Elsner (the music teacher rôle which Paul Muni

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hams in this film almost to the point of burlesque); as far as I can make out there is no record that Elsner accompanied Chopin to Paris or battled with Sand over him. Furthermore in a realistic movie, the sordid winter in damp Majorca might be visualized in all its unpleasant cheapness instead of as a romantic idyl. And the later bickering over petty domestic arrangements and love grown cold might be shown in their true light.

I don't know exactly how the music should be handled in a sincere film about Chopin, whose piano playing, particularly in large concerts, was not too well liked at the time. In the fine sound track of "A Song to Remember," José Iturbi is responsible for the brilliant piano recording. Iturbi gets no credit in the billing; this is unfortunate because it is his playing of the charming valses, sentimental nocturnes, sturdier polonaises and lively mazurkas that make the picture worthy of serious attention. The technicolor is also exceptionally good, so you have something worth looking at while listening to the Chopin score. But, alas, for admirers of cinema, beautiful music and rich technicolor do not a movie make.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Books of the Week

Stephen Hero. James Joyce. New Directions. $3.50.

ON READING this book, the manuscript of which Joyce tried to destroy, I was reminded of what a priest once said to me. He was talking about James Joyce and thought it was significant that none of his books contained anything definitely heretical, of a doctrinal kind. This book which Joyce had decided not to publish, will entail a revision of that charitable idea for it contains heresy in quantity. And it is of a pernicious kind, as it must closely parallel those doubts that assail many Catholics in moods of cynical disillusionment. It is regrettable that it was published, not only because it clearly makes this writer a heretic, for he was generally so regarded, but also because it falls below the artistic average of his literary work.

"Stephen Hero" is the first draft of the book which, when re-written, became "The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man." This, it will be recalled was autobiographical. The story is that Joyce disgusted by the publishers lack of interest in this first draft, threw the manuscript in the fire. It was rescued, partially destroyed, by his wife. With the increase of his reputation, and the consequent rise in value of his original manuscripts, it was sold and is now in the collection of Harvard University. Joyce's own opinion that it was, for him, a sophomoric effort, is borne out by reading it. "Stephen Hero" is in truth a sad sort of hero, compounded as he is of talent, pose and a disdain for his surroundings that approaches the supercilious. His human moments seem to have been only those that were lecherous. The ability to view himself with detachment and objective honesty, however, is as much in evidence in this book as in the *Portrait,* but the record is not so balanced in artistic values. If this view of Irish Catholic life is an unflattering one, that which he presents of himself is equally so.

Yet, as his friend Cranly said to him in one of their interminable discussions: "You attack the Church but you always argue like a Catholic," Cranly, in fact, is a far more intriguing personage than the author-hero himself, for he has reserves that suggest the possibility of innate heroism. And Joyce, pouring the torrent of his tortured egoism over Cranly, must have realized that here, indeed, was a man. Although not clearly revealed, he suggests a complete personality and it might have been assumed that Joyce had invented him, but for a photograph of the person identified as the original of Cranly which appears in the book. If Joyce were given to symbolism in his early days, as he was at a later time, Cranly could have been a figure standing for the Church. He is monumental, in his chastity, his rock-like personality and his spiritual aloofness, untroubled as he was by the spattering and be-smirching ideas that Joyce poured over him. There is that about him that suggests the omnipresent confessor.

BARRY BYRNE.

The Science of Man in the World Crisis. Edited by Ralph Linton. Columbia. $4.00.

FOR THOSE interested in that aspect of "man" which is attainable through the physico-chemical laboratories this volume contains an abundance of information in the form of twenty-one "papers" contributed by as many writers, all of whom are recognized as qualified in the subjects treated by them. Not that the subjects treated are strictly "laboratory" matter There is, for example, a paper on "The Concept of Culture"; another on "The Common Denominator of Culture"; another on "The Processes of Culture Change"; and another on "Present World Conditions in Cultural Perspective." But a glance at the index reveals but one entry under *Christianity* which reads, "Christianity, cultural impact of," followed by five page references, examination of which reveals an aggregate "text" of not more than a couple of pages. Similarly, the only entry referring to *Religion* is "Religious Systems, in Primitive Cultures," with eight page references, and one reference "and Psychoanalytic Therapy." Here also the total "print" referred to is relatively insignificant. Under *Roman Catholic Church* there are three references: one to a two-line "mention," and two others to "Attitude toward Birth Control." When psychology enters the discussion under any of the topics in the volume it is essentially the psychology of the Freudian school and its offshoots. In the whole volume it is clear that the approach is through the "scientific" (nineteenth century meaning) laboratory as a starting point, and the opinions and conclusions concerning the bearing of the "knowledge" thus gathered, classified and card-indexed on the "World Crisis" stem practically entirely from that body of material. In that sense the whole approach is purely secularist. One interesting point, however, may be noted, namely, the definite drift of modern anthropoligical opinion toward recognition of the fundamental unity of the race of man.

"This is the third book on the subject of "Man" which THE COMMONWEAL has entrusted to this reviewer in recent months. The other two were by Malinowski and Cassierer, respectively. The impression produced upon him by all three is the same, namely, that they all reflect, in different degrees, the remaining vestigia of the last century's "materialist" orientation, which now gives every sign of being in its death-throes. The kind of "knowledge" which our physico-chemical laboratories have been revealing in the last half-century is driving "science" (proper) to a thorough reexamination of its position as

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to the *meaning* of the facts. And the recognition of the failure of the nineteenth century's attempt to explain them in the light of its own dogmatisms. As such the present volume has, no doubt, an interest all its own. It should a century from now interest the scientists of that day as illustrating the course of man's thinking on these matters. T. F. W.

Racial State. Gerhard Jacoby. Institute of Jewish Affairs $3.00.

WHAT WE heard about Europe for a long time were scattered news lists from correspondents only superficially familiar with the significance of what they reported, their books suffering from the same shortcomings and published at great speed after their return; excited and disconnected tales of refugees and what our own experts were able to make of this. This book indicates definitely a new stage, a more solid and more reliable one. It appears with a score of others, like the new edition of Franz L. Neumann's tremendous "Behemoth" and Raphael Lemkin's "Axis Rule in Occupied Europe." Jacoby's "Racial State" is frankly written from the Czech and Jewish point of view and the author's evidence convinces me that in this case it is the view of humanity. He has sifted his tremendous material well and carefully and fulfills all requirements of a scholar in his notes and his bibliography. Even the careful reader of magazines and reporters' and refugees' odysseys will find a tremendous amount of substantiated facts that are widely unknown.

Mr. Jacoby deals with Czechoslovakia under nazi rule and gives us the history of Munich and its aftermaths. He says little of the actual problems that beset his country before Hitler and what made it so easy for Hitler to convince the European and American public that he had a good case against his country's government. But that is not his topic. He shows the infernal, cold and cruel efficiency of a nation at work to conquer the world which treated a brave little neighbor as a guinea pig and experimented him to death with a coldly reasoned-out and systematic formula that is the gift of de-humanized science gone astray. Nothing escaped those nazis; everybody is taken care of, especially the Jews.

There is an interesting character in this book who ought to be immortalized like Quisling: Mr. Moravets. He was one of the staunch defenders of democracy. He wrote articles and books exposing Hitler and warning his nation. Mr. Benes and other politicians did not take him seriously. Then came Munich. Mr. Moravets received such a shock from the ugly betrayal that he summed it all up in one sentence: "We have tried to sing with the angels and they let us down. Now we are going to howl with the devils," turned around and offered his services to Hitler. He still is the Himmler of Czechoslovakia and has gone to the limit. A convert out of cynicism.

This book should be read by anyone who wants to find out for himself what nazidom really is and how it perverted not only hoodlums and adventurers but scholars, clergy, professional men, business men, working men, farmers and soldiers. Those who try to tell us that a great nation became the victim of a ruthless super-gang of evil men will have a hard time to explain this cold-blooded legislation thought out in its last details and carried out efficiently, coldly and in a routine fashion by little pen-pushers behind desks, harmless looking public

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servants, well dressed business men and lawyers—not driven by Hitler, Heydrich and Himmler but their own Moravets, like an evil genius.

It should be read together with Neumann's excellent "Behemoth," which may over-simplify its main thesis, but which, as far as I know, is the most complete and matter-of-fact description of the neo-German machine. Jacoby's book excellently treats a classical paradigm of Neumann's more universal endeavor. To undo what Germany did in a victorious war and just one peace treaty is an impossible task. Europe will never be again what it was after Hitler is gone. Let us face this sad truth which is now being made sadder and even more frightening by Stalin's methods in Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Poland!

H. A. REINHOLD.

Capitalism and Slavery. Eric Williams. North Carolina. $3.00.

THE PURPOSE of this book is to present the part of Negro Slavery and the slave trade in providing the capital which financed the Industrial Revolution in England and to show how this mature industrial capitalism eventually destroyed the slave system. This book of two hundred and twelve pages has eight pages of notes and a bibliography of eight pages. It is evident that the author has undertaken very seriously to establish his thesis. The author believes, I think, that Britain created the slave trade because it was profitable to her expanding empire and emancipated the slaves when their enslavement became unprofitable.

The first part of the thesis is elaborately proven. If any one held a contrary opinion, it can be maintained hereafter only in prejudice to a high-heaven massing of facts. The other half of the book, proving that when slavery became unprofitable, emancipation became inevitable—this part is not so thoroughly documented nor is the assumption proved.

The author says that "his book is not an essay in ideas or interpretation." Actually only a bank book is that kind of book. When a man writes a book he writes it out of himself through his interpretation of facts. Facts may be objective enough, but no writer is a vacuum and Mr. Williams is not dispassionate. It is clear that for him economics determine more than bank balances; that life and the pursuit of happiness, in his opinion, also conform to a pattern of economic determinism. This philosophy popularized by Marx and Engels makes a great difference in the evaluation of anything so human and confusing as the factors that make and unmake slaves.

Economic factors were present in the emancipation of the slaves, of course, and they add up, pile them ever so high, only to *the* economic factor in the emancipation of the slaves. The factors we call moral factors the author simply equates with an enlightened self interest and so they too come within the pattern of economic determinism. He tells us: "The Church supported the slave trade. The Spaniards saw in it an opportunity of converting the heathen and the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans were heavily involved in sugar cultivation which meant slave holding." For this devastating generalization there is neither a reference nor a note. There is however a reference for this statement: "The famous Cardinal Manning of the nineteenth century was the son of a rich West Indian merchant dealing in slave-grown produce." Evi-

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dently the anti-slavery Cardinal revealed his insincerity by the wrong choice of a father.

Because we believe that Mr. Williams is better than his philosophy, we can understand his inconsistency of condemning some Churchmen for practicing his own economic determinism, but it is not so easy to justify his scholarship, when he calls these exceptions the Church. The economic factors in a problem of human relations are not inevitable. If they were, they would be present always in similar relationships. Economic factors are static, they become dynamic in the atmosphere of moral convictions. If slavery is only a matter of bank balance, then what is wrong with it?

JOHN MONAGHAN.

The Secret History of the War. Waverley Root. Two Vols. Scribner. $10.00.

AN ADEQUATELY thorough review of these two massive volumes would be beyond the scope of anyone in the absence of available means to check Mr. Root's accuracy. His title is a trifle sensational, since it would seem that he has done little more than collect the journalistic gossip of our day. Almost nowhere does he give a source for his information. Yet what he has done possesses a certain utility, since it knits together strands we are likely to have forgotten in the turmoil of recent news. He thus presents us with an overall picture which may be inaccurate but at least is a picture.

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ARE AMERICANS in the many far-flung quarters of the globe being fooled and deluded by the natives? This impression has been gaining ground and an opportunity to examine its truth will be offered Americans at the forthcoming world mission symposium, on February 19 and 20. Experts in the art of knowing a people from the inside will assemble at the Hunter College Playhouse, East 68th Street between Park and Lexington Avenues, New York, N. Y., to discuss this statement and its many implications for our post-war world.

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Keeping Informed

EVENTS MOVE SO FAST that it is sometimes impossible for us to announce one week the articles we hope to publish the week following. For in the interim things can happen which force us to "remake" an issue entirely. This, we hope, will indicate to readers how close we try to keep THE COMMONWEAL to events, to the fierce play of forces in this time of crisis.

Such journalism does not add to the peace of mind of an editor. Not so long ago it was possible to plan weeks, even months ahead. What happy days! But they are gone.

It is this concern of THE COMMONWEAL to adjust itself rapidly in a world of high velocity which should be the principal reason for you to follow what we say from week to week. We believe that we have lived up to our responsibilities in a hectic world and we believe we have benefitted our readers in the process.

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This élite group prepares itself by many years of study of Mohammedan customs and languages. Father Madaras is eminently qualified to give his expert opinion on the Near East by thirteen years of work as editor of *Al Baghdadi,* the voice of American Christianity in that city. His articles in that publication have also been published in book form under the same title.

Social work in the mission field will be discussed by the Rev. John P. Sullivan, from the British West Indies. Father Sullivan has personally started three hundred co-operatives and credit unions of all types in Jamaica alone. He is in the forefront of the movement which believes that a man's body must be cared for, before you can heal his spirit.

Assessment of the influence of the Chiang Kai Sheks will be given by Rev. John J. O'Farrell, who is now preparing to return to Shanghai for educational work at the earliest possible opportunity. Father O'Farrell's knowledge of the Chinese problems will clarify the doubts and ignorance of many New Yorkers on the whole Chinese question. He is planning to stage a display at the playhouse of Chinese items of an unusual nature.

"Gandhi and Christianity?" is a question often asked, but few people can answer it with the authority of the Rev. John A. Kilian. He has been labouring for many years in the vast Patna region of India, and at present heads a national bureau for the relief of this mission. The question of Indian Nationalism, and of Britain's Post War Role in that troubled dominion will also be handled by the speaker.

"What follows the invasion of Luzon?" has been chosen as his topic by the Rev. William F. Masterson of New York. He knows that island very well from his educational work at the West Point of the Philippines, the Ateneo de Manila. In the summer time Father Masterson conducted a boys' camp at Baguio, the present location of the Japanese military headquarters in the Philippine Islands.

Other speakers include the Rev. Calvert P. Alexander, S.J., editor-in-chief of *Jesuit Missions* and the Rev. Edward L. Murphy, S.J., one of the five Americans holding the rare degree of Doctor of Missiology.

The Academy of the Sacred Heart, 1 East 91st Street, New York, N. Y., through its "Jeanne d'Arc Mission Unit," is sponsoring this meeting. All tickets are reserved. Further details may be obtained by addressing Miss Anne Louise Heide, 1 East 91st Street, New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH F. CANTILLON.

CONTRIBUTORS

Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'GRADY is Secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities and makes his headquarters in Washington, D. C.

Anne FREMANTLE at present lives in Washington, D. C.

Thomas P. NEILL is a member of the history department of Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.

George STREATOR is employed in the labor division of the WPB.

Barry BYRNE is an architect now practicing in New York City.

Rev. H. A. REINHOLD has just published his collection of excerpts from the writings of the mystics, entitled "The Soul Afire."

Rev. John MONAGHAN is pastor of St. Margaret Mary's Church, Staten Islands, N. Y.

Rev. Joseph F. CANTILLON, S.J., has been organizing the symposium he describes. He is now stationed in New York, N. Y.

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